

AT 100-6488

| <u>Identity of Source</u> | <u>Date</u> | <u>File Location</u> |
|---------------------------|---|----------------------|
| [REDACTED] | Dec 1966 6/16/67 | 100-6488-3364 " |
| [REDACTED] | 6/16/67 | 100-6488-3367 |
| [REDACTED] | 6/21/67 | 100-6488-3372 |
| [REDACTED] | 5/18/67 | 100-6488-3391 |
| [REDACTED] | June & July, 1967 | 100-6488-3452 |
| [REDACTED] | June & July, 1967 | 100-6488-3452 |
| [REDACTED] | Used to characterize ALEKSEY N. STEPUNIN | |
| [REDACTED] | 6/23/67 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | 6/23/67 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | 7/6/67 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | 8/3/67 | 100-6488-3563 |
| [REDACTED] | 8/9/67 | 100-6488-3654 |
| [REDACTED] | 8/9/67 | 100-6488-3583 |
| [REDACTED] | 7/2 67 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | 7/31/67 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | Unknown | 100-6488-3688 |
| [REDACTED] | 9/20/67 | 100-6488-3764 |
| [REDACTED] | Used to characterize RON LUCAS | |
| [REDACTED] | 9/20/67 | 100-6488-3764 |
| [REDACTED] | 9/18/67 | [REDACTED] |

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COVER PAGE

List of Requests

Date

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8/16/67

10/25/67

100-3488-3874

Used to determine PINE ISLAND INCIDENT

10/20-22/67

100-3488-3874

10/21-23/67

100-3488-3874

10/17/67

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10/27/67

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11/8/67

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10/33/67

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11/17/67

100-3488-3874

-APPENDIX A-

Although the status of this case is Pending-
Initial, it receives certain investigative attention.
The Bureau has participated in being confined to that time
when file reviews were conducted in the preparation of this
report.

M.
CONTRAPTION

[REDACTED]

Activities of SNCC in Boston, Chicago, New York, Newark, Buffalo and San Francisco are not included in this report as the Bureau has instructed by separate communication that these offices submit report on this organization.

Bureau letter dated October 10, 1967, instructed that administrative pages of this report include information concerning all programs and activities wherein its personnel is involved in the planning of or engaging in violence. It is noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has made several speeches in the past which fall into this category. These speeches were the basis of a separate prosecutive summary report which has been submitted on CARMICHAEL. In view of the submission of that report, these statements and events attributed to CARMICHAEL that were included in that report are not being restated herein.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 111th M.I. Group, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1 - NIS, Charleston, S. C. (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Ga. (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: December 18, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439490

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

National Headquarters located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta. Identity of National Officers and members of Central Committee set forth. Character of organization described by STOKELY CARMICHAEL as opposing United States role in Viet Nam and supporting national anti-draft efforts, particularly black youth. H. RAP BROWN states SNCC will strengthen its program of opposition to the draft and U. S. involvement in Viet Nam. Establishment of International Affairs Office in New York announced in order to link SNCC efforts with liberation movements around the world. JAMES FORMAN heads this office. H. RAP BROWN reportedly in contact with CP leaders. Presence of known SNCC members in area where violence erupted set forth. Financial condition of National Office described as poor.

- P* -

~~SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

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DETAILS

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC. There are reflected in this report, certain programs and activities of SNCC wherein its personnel were involved in the planning of or engaging in violence.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Information received from [REDACTED] as recently as December 6, 1967, reflects that the National Headquarters of SNCC is located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

[REDACTED]

III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On May 22, 1967, [REDACTED] made available a letter dated April, 1967, which is set forth below:

"IN THE NATION
THE MALAISE BEYOND DISSENT
By Tom Wicker
The New York Times
March 12, 1967

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"Vietnam and the racial question are the most dramatic and emotional issues in modern American life..."

But you have the feeling nobody is even listening. You don't have a chance... in the vast impersonality of 20th-century society and government, it has become almost impossible for individuals to affect the grinding course of things.

"That is the malaise beyond dissent the fear that dissent does not matter any more; that only action counts, but that no one really knows what action to take."

"Dear Friend,

"Who among us has not often felt helpless in the fact of government action -- or inaction? What American has not felt powerless to affect the institutions supposedly serving 'the people'? Who has not sometimes been ashamed of his own country, yet unable to root out the causes of that shame? We believe that you, as an enlightened citizen, have probably experienced such moments of frustration -- perhaps even despair.

"SNCC believes that dissent does matter -- if teeth are put into it. Effective action is possible -- if programmed to build communities with genuine power.

"From its earliest days, SNCC has maintained that power must flow from the bottom up. Community needs must prevail over political expediency. Institutions should be made to serve people, rather than people serving or being used by institutions.

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"We have no sure-fire ways to accomplish these ends. But in our past work we have seen how group strength can be mustered to counter the forces of reaction and oppression. This summer, SNCC is conducting a major project in Washington, D. C., where almost a million people, the majority black, have long been denied a voice in government -- in their own affairs. In various rural and urban areas, we will initiate or continue to build "freedom organizations" geared not only to electoral participation but also to the daily economic and social needs of Afro-Americans -- most of whom are poor. From these organizations we hope to see emerge a national power base of gathered strength, a new political apparatus. This year, we are also supporting black candidates for crucial local offices in Mississippi and in a special election scheduled for Green County, Alabama. Some of us will be working in other areas to organize poor whites.

"Because we stand not merely for civil rights but for human rights, we have opposed the U.S. war in Vietnam. We are supporting national anti-draft efforts, particularly among black youth. We are also organizing student conferences on a nationwide basis, with the goal of establishing communication between campuses and a true consistency of black students.

We ask you to support our program -- not just for SNCC's sake, but for your own sake in the struggle against powerlessness. Your support is not a matter of 'helping' others but helping yourself as a dissenter. SNCC is a voice, an important voice. Directly or indirectly, it speaks for you too.

"Please send a contribution today, in the enclosed reply envelope. It is an investment in your political future. It is a guarantee that dissent in this country will stay alive. Thank you.

"Yours sincerely,

/s/ Stokely Carmichael"

On November 27, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter signed H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC which reads in part as follows:

"Dear Friends,

"The struggle for the liberation of black people and other oppressed minorities in this country has reached a critical stage. Rebellions and revolts are occurring throughout the land, because the United States power structure has been unwilling to yield to the basic demands of its black population and their allies. It has chosen to create scapegoats--to shift the burden of responsibility for the upheavals from the oppressor to the oppressed--rather than to undertake the task of correcting centuries of evils.

"In this important era, SNCC has intensified its efforts to give political direction to the resistance against police brutality and the degrading social, economic and cultural effects of our society.

"SNCC has officially declared itself a Human Rights organization in May, 1967. As an organization 'technically' composed of America citizens, we feel that our first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government. Hence, we will strengthen our programs of opposition to the draft and the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

A. LOCATION OF OTHER KNOWN SNCC CHAPTERS AND/OR OFFICES

On May 1, 1967, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he had heard that SNCC had established

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a chapter in Buffalo, New York. He did not know anything about its membership or its officers. He said one FRED READING claimed to represent SNCC in Buffalo. It was also indicated that the Buffalo Office of SNCC was made up primarily of the READING family, including the wife of FRED READING, SANDRA, and brother JOHN.

On June 12, 1967, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he had recently learned that two lieutenants of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, recently arrived in Hartford and were seeking a headquarters for a SNCC branch in that city.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

RON LUCAS was the Master of Ceremonies and there were two other speakers. According to information received from [REDACTED] on August 9, 1966, LUCAS was appointed a member of the Ohio CP State Board, which held a meeting on August 3, 1966, at Cleveland, Ohio.

[redacted] advised on September 20, 1967, that during the aforementioned meeting, RON LUCAS made the comment that no active SNCC chapters existed in the Cleveland area and the purpose of the meeting was to get one started.

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OFFICE

On November 27, 1967, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter signed by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, which states in part: "Realizing that oppressed peoples throughout the world share common bonds, SNCC has established an office of International affairs in New York City, in order to link its efforts with liberation movements around the world."

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[REDACTED]

According to information reported by [REDACTED] JAMES FORMAN, in addition to being Director of the New York Office of SNCC, 100 - 5th Avenue, New York City, is the Director of International Affairs Commission of SNCC.

On September 18, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that FORMAN was in charge of the SNCC International Office and that the New York Office of SNCC was being converted to that purpose.

On November 9, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that GEORGE WALTER BROADFIELD resides in Apartment 7F, 444 Central Park West, New York, and is believed employed by the Urban League of Greater New York, 204 West 136th Street. The source described BROADFIELD as an advocate of "Black Nationalism" and who often quotes from the works of MAO TSE-TUNG.

According to [REDACTED] BROADFIELD had stated that SNCC now has a permanent office in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, and coordinated its national operation.

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

A. NATIONAL OFFICERS

On May 12, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that SNCC made an official announcement as to the result of the election of national officers for the year 1967. These individuals are identified as follows and certain background information secured from other sources is set forth under their names:

1. H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman

[REDACTED] advised that BROWN was elected National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, replacing STOKELY CARMICHAEL. According to records of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], BROWN was born October 4, 1943, in Baton Rouge.

[REDACTED] advised that BROWN utilizes the address of 850 West End Avenue, S. W., Apartment 12, when he is in Atlanta, Georgia. [REDACTED] advised that while in New York City, BROWN utilizes the address of 530 Manhattan Avenue, New York City.

Investigation in Washington, D. C., reflects that when BROWN is in that city he utilizes the address of his sister, PATRICIA ANN BROWN, [REDACTED]

2. STANLEY LE ROY WISE, Executive Secretary

The Bureau of Vital Statistics of Charlotte, North Carolina, reflects that STANLEY LE ROY WISE was born June 12, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina, to CLARENCE EUGENE WISE and JOSEPHINE BELTON.

Information furnished by [REDACTED] on December 7, 1967, reflects that WISE resides at 156 Fairfield Place, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, and can be contacted at telephone 794-6730.

3. RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE
Program Director

The records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, District of Columbia, reflect that RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE was born in Washington, D. C., on May 26, 1939. Birth Certificate No. 428919 identified his parents as JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, SR., born July 5, 1912, in New Jersey, and ANNIE BROWN, born April 19, 1913, in Maryland. The records

of the District of Columbia Teachers College reflect that FEATHERSTONE was admitted to that college on September 9, 1957, and awarded a Bachelor of Science Degree on June 13, 1963, with a Major in Speech Correction. The District of Columbia Board of Education records reflect that FEATHERSTONE was employed on January 27, 1964, as a temporary speech teacher, this employment ending on June 30, 1964.

On November 12, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that FEATHERSTONE is now residing on Gordon Road, Atlanta, in the Paradise Apartments with KAREN ESMOND and JENIFER LAWSON, both associated with SNCC in Atlanta.

4. ETHEL HARRIET MINOR
Communications Director

The records of the Cook County Bureau of Vital Statistics, Chicago, Illinois, reflect that ETHEL HARRIET MINOR, a Negro female, was born on November 9, 1938, at Provident Hospital. [REDACTED] advised that MINOR resides in Apartment 2, 2930 Del Mar Lane, S. W., Atlanta.

B. MEMBERS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SNCC

The following individuals, according to [REDACTED] compose the Central Committee of SNCC and although they serve on this committee, they do not, by necessity, reside in the Atlanta, Georgia, area.

I. JOHN AUGUSTA WILSON

The records of the Passport Division, U. S. Department of State (USDS) reflect that WILSON was born September 29, 1943, at Baltimore, Maryland, and as of August 28, 1967, maintained the permanent residence address of 520 E. 12th Street, New York, New York. His mother is identified in the records as ANNE WILSON.

2. FAYE DELORES BELLAMY

According to the records of the Passport Office, USDS, BELLAMY was born May 3, 1938, at Clairton, Pennsylvania. Her parents are identified as MALBRO BELLAMY, born May 27, 1910, and PEARL FORDHAM, deceased. Information furnished by [REDACTED] on November 12, 1967, reflects that BELLAMY resides in Apartment 18, 138 Lamar Street, S. W., Atlanta.

3. JOHN EDWIN JACKSON

The records of the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, reflect that JACKSON was born January 17, 1948, at Lowndes County, Alabama, and as of January 3, 1966, resided at Route 1, Box 191, Hayneville, Alabama.

4. JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

According to the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), New York City, LESTER was born January 27, 1939, however, no city was indicated for this birth. Information furnished by [REDACTED] on November 12, 1967, reflects that LESTER is a photographer working out of the New York Office of SNCC. The INS records reflected that as of May 9, 1967, he resided at 329 W. 21st Street, New York City.

5. WILLIAM HALL

According to the records of the Passport Division, USDS, Washington, D. C., HALL was born September 2, 1936, in New York City. His father is identified as HENRY L. HALL, born in Florida, and his mother as DOROTHY M. CARTER, born in Durham, North Carolina. His permanent residence is reflected as 1985 - 7th Street, New York City. His mother resides at [REDACTED]

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6. GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE, JR.

According to the records of the USDS, WARE was born April 21, 1940, at Camp Hill, Alabama. Information received from [REDACTED] on November 12, 1967, reflects WARE resides at Apartment 18, 156 Fairfield Place, Atlanta.

7. JAMES RUFUS FORMAN

According to the records of [REDACTED] FORMAN was born October 4, 1928, in Chicago, Illinois. Information furnished by [REDACTED] on November 12, 1967, reflects FORMAN presently resides in New York City.

8. CHARLES EARL COBB, JR.

9. ROBERT FLETCHER

V. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP,USA) PROGRAM
TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE
ITS POLICY

On October 31, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that the 12th Annual Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia (FUPI) was held on October 27, 28 and 29, 1967, at the Hollywood Cafe, Ponce de Leon Avenue, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. [REDACTED] made available the Declaration as ratified by the Congress at its conclusion on October 29, 1967, which reads as follows:

"FIRE XI Congress - General Statement.

"Gathered at this Twelfth Congress, we, members of the FUFU, an organization that represents the student body of the University of Puerto Rico in its struggle for national liberation agree;

"To dedicate the results of the Congress to
Jose Rafael Varona, who was seriously wounded by the
Yankee Air Force while visiting a North Vietnamese school

as a delegate of our organization; to the heroic Vietnamese people who with courage and sacrifice have assumed the position of the first battlefield in the universal struggle against imperialism, and we dedicate the results of this Congress to the courageous Commander Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

"To all the aforementioned, we dedicate this Congress with a revolutionary promise that, inspired by their example of courage and sacrifice, we will continue the struggle for the liberty of all men.

"We express our solidarity with the heroic people of the United States especially its vanguard, the Negro people, headed by SNCC which carries out the difficult task of destroying the enemy from within."

A characterization of the FUPI appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

A. AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

On April 23, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a circular reflecting that JOHN WILSON and EVELYN MARSHALL, both associated with SNCC in the south for three years, would appear on a program sponsored by the Freedom Socialist Party on Sunday, April 23, 1967, at Freedom Hall, 3815 - 5th Avenue, N. E., Seattle, Washington. A circular indicated that EVELYN MARSHALL was originally from Seattle, Washington, and that JOHN WILSON was one of seven young Negroes from the Atlanta SNCC Office indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of Interfering with the Administration of the Universal Military Training Act and Destruction of Federal Property.

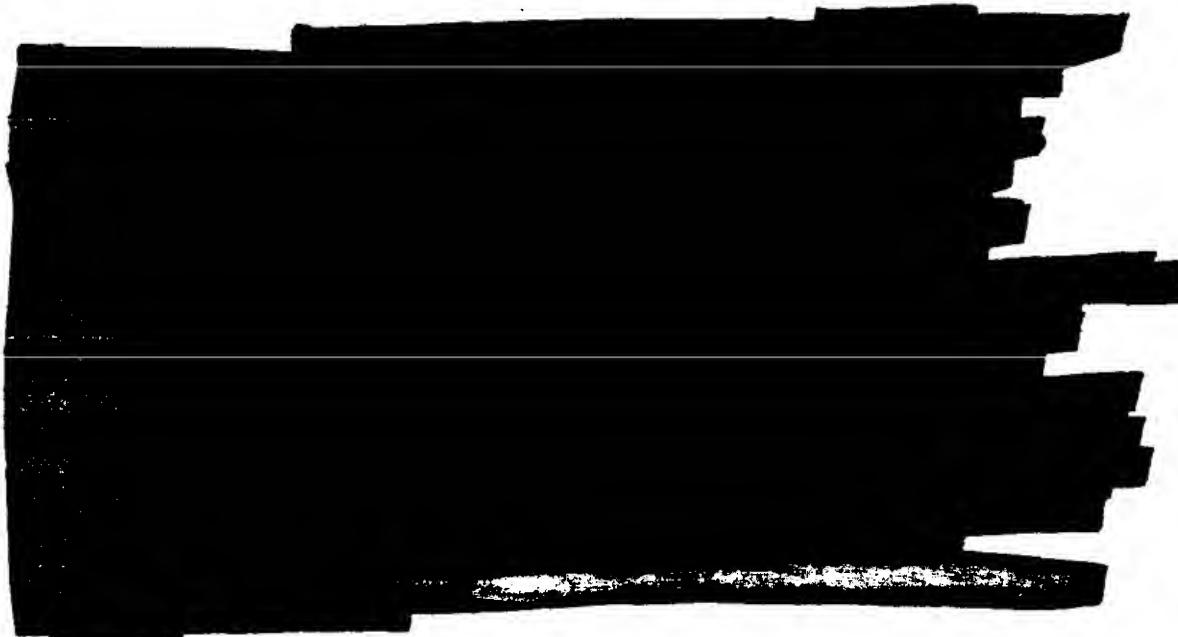
A characterization of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of Washington appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

The Spring, 1967, issue of the magazine "Freedomways", which is the second quarter for 1967, is

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self-described as "a quarterly review of the Negro Freedom Movement." A notation appearing in this issue credits the picture on the inside cover to DIANE NASH BEVEL and states that the pictures on the back cover are presented through the courtesy of SNCC.

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix of this report.



On July 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former head of SNCC and CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, JR., the former Program Director for SNCC, have reservations on Pan American Airways (PAA) flight 104 departing JFK Airport, New York City, at 8:15 R.M., July 14, 1967, arriving in London, England, at 7:55 A.M., July 15, 1967. The source indicated they have further reservations at London on Aeroflot flight 32, departing

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London at 12:30 P.M., July 15, 1967, arriving Moscow at 6:15 P.M., July 15, 1967. These arrangements were made by the New York Office of SNCC.



A characterization of the SDS appears in the Appendix of this report.

[REDACTED]

On July 7, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a report covering the SDS National Convention held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25 - July 1, 1967. The source said about 400 people attended this convention. The source said that one of the resolutions passed by the convention was that the National Office be empowered to support and defend radical movements and organizations that the Government cracks down on. It was said that SDS would support the groups against the Government even though the SDS does not support the ideology of that group. In relation to this, one of the speakers told of contact he had had with SNCC members in Texas. He said the five SNCC members had been arrested for murder in Houston, Texas, recently and wanted people to come to their trial in order to disrupt the proceedings.

An article which appeared in the October 21, 1967 issue of the "Albuquerque Journal," a daily newspaper published at Albuquerque, New Mexico, set forth that the Alianza Federal De Mercedes (AFDM) would hold a convention at the Albuquerque Civic Auditorium on October 21-22, 1967. This article also set forth that the following organizations sent delegations to the convention:

SNCC
Atlanta, Georgia
headed by RALPH FEATHERSTONE

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On October 23, 1967, [REDACTED] observed the following concerning the meeting of the AFDM. He was in attendance all day Saturday, October 21, 1967.

Most of the proceedings were in the Spanish language and there were evidently no Spanish-speaking reporters present and REYES LOPEZ TIJERINA, President, AFDM, commented that the news media were asking State Police Officers to translate the proceedings for them.

REYES TIJERINA stated that "We are not Communists," but the organization is open to any and all that would like to join.

JAMES KENNEDY, known to source and who had been publicly identified as a member of the CP, USA, was observed at the meeting. He was not seen to take an active part. He and those around him would clap at the wrong time because they evidently did not speak the Spanish language.

PATRICIA BLAWIS from Santa Fe, New Mexico, who source has heard is a Communist, was observed at the meeting but no special activity on her part was seen.

[REDACTED] advised on June 28, 1966, at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA, held at New York, New York, June 22-26, 1966, PAT BLAU BLAWIS was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA.

On October 21-22, 1967, [REDACTED] attended sessions of the convention of the AFDM at Albuquerque, New Mexico, and reported the following information:

There were from 300 to 400 persons in attendance, most of whom were Spanish-American. There were about 30 to 40 Negroes present who included delegates

from SNCC, a militant civil rights group, including WILLIE RICKS and RALPH FEADNESS from Atlanta, Georgia. There were five persons in the SNCC group. A Spanish-looking girl by the name of MARIA VARELA was there who was with the SNCC group and the impression was gained that she came with them. There were also persons present representing the Black Panthers and the Black Caucus, Los Angeles Negro organizations, and the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) from Los Angeles. As far as known to the source, there were no local Negroes present or local Negro groups represented.

On October 17 and 18, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that RALPH FEADNESS spoke as a representative of SNCC. In his address, he disagreed with Reverend CLARENCE DUFFY's suggestion to form a new political party and his advocacy of the use of peaceful means only. There were five individuals representing SNCC from Atlanta, Georgia.

REYES TIZOCINA informed everyone present that the AFDM had formally signed a treaty with the Negro organizations represented and with the Hopi Indians. The treaty pledged that each group would not interfere with the other in their individual programs but would unite against their common enemy. REYES TIZOCINA identified the organizations signing the treaty as SNCC, Congress On Racial Equality (CORE), Black Panthers, Black Caucus, Black Panthers, and the Hopi Indians.

Tizocina claimed that the Negro groups from California had taken the treaty with them to be ratified and it will thereafter be sent to SNCC Headquarters for ratification and then returned to the AFDM.

[REDACTED] advised on October 17, 1967, that a Mrs. MARIA VARELA, supposedly a secretary of SNCC, had arrived in Albuquerque. She apparently came to help with arrangements for the convention and was stationed at AFDM headquarters.

[REDACTED] advised on October 22, 1967, that he identified PAT BLAU BLAWIS and her husband, JACK BLAWIS of Sante Fe, New Mexico, as being in attendance at the afternoon session of the AFDM convention in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on October 21, 1967. This source also identified JAMES KENNEDY and his wife, MARTHA KENNEDY, in attendance on this same day. Informant advised that although KENNEDY told representatives of the press that he was at the convention as a representative of the SDS, KENNEDY advised some others that he was actually attending as a representative of SNCC.

On October 31, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that the 19th Anniversary Celebration of the "National Guardian" was held at the Imperial Ballroom, Americana Hotel, New York City, on October 27, 1967.

The source said there were 15 tables seating five persons each at this celebration and the ballroom was filled. The source said H. RAP BROWN walked on the stage and took a seat with the other speakers and received a standing ovation from those in attendance. When BROWN was introduced, he said that "Bad breath and body odor are not the problems in America today. It is the problem of survival. Black people are rebelling because of conditions they have been under for many years. Watts and Detroit are examples where black people are not talking about freedom. They are going to be free and by any means necessary. White people are talking about joining but we don't need liberals. We can't afford to talk about politics. We are in favor of wars of liberation. My advice to the left is, 'don't go left.' The revolution is going on with or without you. We need the 'Guardian.' You taught us to be violent. We talk about need for alliances. Why do black people need guns? America only respects counterforce. Plainfield, New Jersey was successful because they had guns. If you chose to oppose me, you are my enemy. Johnson says if Viet Nam doesn't come around it should be burned down. I say the same thing about America. As our oppressors you will be destroyed."

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A characterization of the "National
Guardian" appears in the Appendix
of this report.

B. AFFILIATION OF SNCC WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING A CP BACKGROUND

[REDACTED] advised that H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of the SNCC and possibly STOKELY CARMICHAEL were invited by W. SUMPTER MCINTOSH, Director of the Ohio Freedom Movement, local Dayton civil rights group, to speak at a job rally in the Negro west side section of Dayton, Ohio. This rally was scheduled to be held at 8:00 P.M., June 14, 1967, at the Wesley Community Center, 2301 West Third Street, Dayton, Ohio, and was to be called the "West Side Job Rally."

Source advised that the purpose of this rally was to discuss the recently-formed Police Community Relations Unit; the role of the Negro in the forthcoming city elections; more anti-poverty funds; and to promote orderly action in the field of employment.

W. SYMPSON MC INTOSH

advised in 1949 that W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH was a member of the CP.

On June 21, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished information that the subscription of SNCC to the "Peoples World" had expired, possibly in 1967, and had not been renewed.

The "Peoples World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

[REDACTED] on August 3, 1967, made available a published report of the National Association of Stenographers of Cuba (in exile). This Association, on a daily basis, monitors broadcasts from Cuba, and thereafter publishes a transcription of the more important news items. The published reports made available by the source contain information from broadcasts from Cuba that were monitored on August 1-2, 1967. The information obtained is as follows:

Radio Havana - Cuba

STORSEY CARMICHAEL read a message over Radio Havana - Cuba which he had written to "CHE" GUEVARA. He said that the Afro-Asians in the United States feel a great admiration for "CHE." "We await with eagerness your writings in order to read them, digest them and to plan our strategy based on them," he said. "We want you to know," he continued, "wherever you are, you are an inspiration not only to the Negroes in the United States, but to the fights for liberation throughout the world."

ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA was the former head of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) of the Cuban Government.

Radio Havana - Cuba (August 2, 1967)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL declared in Havana that the U. S. Negroes are planning guerrilla warfare in the cities because they have no other way to obtain their rights.

[redacted] made available on August 1, 1967, a copy of the July 26, 1967, issue of "El Mundo" which contained an article captioned, "More Delegates Arrive For OLAS." This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and GEORGE WARE of SNCC, are already in Cuba as guests to the OLAS conference. Both received a greeting of welcome from Captain OSMAÑ GLENFUCOS, President of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba.

The source, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 27, 1967 issue of "El Mundo." This issue carried the complete speech of Premier FIDEL CASTRO, made on July 26, 1967, at Santiago de Cuba, at the ceremony commemorating the 14th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks. In his speech, CASTRO stated that many important guests were present at this commemoration. He referred to STOKELY CARMICHAEL by name and stated the following:

"Also present for the first time at this meeting, or at a meeting of this kind, is one of the most noted leaders for civil rights in the United States, STOKELY CARMICHAEL."

"El Mundo" is a daily afternoon newspaper published in Havana under the control and direction of the Cuban Government.

The source, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 28, 1967, issue of "Granma" which contained an article entitled, "Carmichael Comments on Fidel's Speech." This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, described as the well known integrationist fighter from the United States, said that one of the things which impressed him most was "The very clear manner of explaining to the people the problems of the country," and he added that the First Secretary of the CP of Cuba showed once more that he knows thoroughly the problems of the international situation.

"Granma" is published daily as the official organ of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba.

VI. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF SNCC WHEREIN ITS PERSONNEL WERE INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF OR ENGAGING IN VIOLENCE

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of June 13, 1967, reflecting that in Prattville, Alabama, National Guardsmen and State Troopers armed with carbines and ordered to kill if necessary, surrounded a small house in Happy Hollow early the preceding Monday and ended a five-hour sporadic gun battle resulting from the arrest of black power leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The article reflects that SNCC immediately announced a "Declaration of War" and said that Alabama would be the battle ground. CARMICHAEL had been arrested when officers answered a call that a Negro had threatened a white man with a shotgun at a church where a civil rights rally was in progress. The article reportedly sets out that CARMICHAEL told Assistant Chief KEN HILL to "Take off the tin badge and I'll take care of this myself." According to the article, CARMICHAEL then turned to another Negro and said "Hand me the gun and I'll take care of him." After CARMICHAEL's arrest, shots were fired at patrol cars in the area. One car was shot at three times.

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal" of June 15, 1967, reflects that a white teenager was shot by Negroes in a passing car, although racial riots had been generally eased in Cincinnati, Ohio, the preceding night. The article stated violence hit Cincinnati and JAMES SHIRK, age 15, was listed in poor condition with a bullet wound in his back. Fire bombs were used in several places and unruly crowds formed, then dispersed as cruisers and National Guardsmen's jeeps raced to the scene. The violence followed a militant civil rights meeting where H. RAP BROWN asked Negroes "How can you be non-violent in America, the most violent country in the world? You better shoot that man to death; that's what he's doing to you." After this WILLIE RICKS, SNCC officer, said he and BROWN were in Dayton "to make the white men get on their knees."

[redacted] advised that H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of the SNCC and possibly STOKELY CARMICHAEL, were invited by W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH, Director of the Ohio Freedom Movement, local Dayton civil rights group, to speak at a job rally in the Negro west side section of Dayton. This rally was scheduled to be held at 8:00 P.M., June 14, 1967, at the Wesley Community Center, 2301 West Third Street, Dayton, Ohio, and was to be called the "West Side Job Rally."

Source advised that the purpose of this rally was to discuss the recently formed Police Community Relations Unit; the role of the Negro in the forthcoming city elections; more anti-poverty funds; and to promote orderly action in the field of employment.

Source advised BROWN was introduced at the rally by ALBERT HOLLAND, Director of Moving Ahead Together (MAT), a West Dayton anti-poverty agency whose application for renewal of Federal funding has been rejected by Supporting Council On Preventive Effort (SCOPE).

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The "Dayton Daily News," a newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article titled, "Brown Raps 'honkies,' But Not Like Stokely," on Page 6 of the June 15, 1967 edition. This article quoting BROWN in regard to the Press stated, "Newspapers are a weapon against black people...after each rebellion, they call it a riot...dig 'em; they are out to get you."

This article quoting BROWN in regard to black power stated, "We ain't seeking no love. We seekin' power, and the 'honkie' better understand that."

On June 14, 1967, [REDACTED] Dayton, Ohio, advised that after the rally at about 9:45 P.M., June 14, 1967, small groups of unorganized Negroes began gathering in the area of Third and Williams Streets, Dayton. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and passing automobiles. Traffic was temporarily routed by the police around the area, and several shop windows in the area were broken, and there was some scattered looting. Disturbance of the same nature continued into the morning hours of June 15. During the night of June 14 and morning of June 16, police reported only scattered instances of broken windows and minor looting.

[REDACTED] stated he was convinced that the rally at which H. RAP BROWN spoke triggered the disturbance.

On June 14, 1967, [REDACTED] Dayton, Ohio, advised that he blamed the outbreak on the meeting of H. RAP BROWN and W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH. He stated, "I think it had a great deal to do with this disturbance. I think it triggered it."

The following information was furnished on :
June 18 and 19, 1967, by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Atlanta, Georgia:

On Friday and Saturday nights the merchants at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, 2179 Verbena Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, employ Fulton Detectives, uniformed guards service with special police officers, to discourage theft and also as a preventive measure against disorder in this community of Negro residences.

On Saturday night, June 17, 1967, around 8:30 P.M., three Fulton Detectives observed EDDIE WILKINS, a Negro male, drinking beer in the outside area of the shopping center and asked him to leave the premises. WILKINS refused to leave and was thereafter placed under arrest. WILKINS resisted and it became necessary to subdue him. A crowd began to congregate, and the special officers placed a call to the Atlanta Police Department for assistance.

EDDIE WILKINS' sister, GEORGIA WILKINS, Negro female, nineteen years of age, accused the special officers of hitting her brother. GEORGIA WILKINS also was placed under arrest by the special officers for cursing them and hitting one of them in the face and chest with her purse. JOSEPH KENDRICK, Negro male, 21 years of age, also scuffled with the special officers and was also placed under arrest. GEORGIA WILKINS was charged with Assault and Battery on an officer, Cursing and Resisting Arrest. EDDIE WILKINS was charged with Assault and Battery, Cursing and Malicious Mischief. JOSEPH KENDRICK was charged with Interfering with an Officer Making an Arrest, Assault and Battery on an Officer, and Using Profane Language.

By the time the above arrests had been completed and the individuals arrested had been removed from the area, approximately 300 persons had gathered and several rocks were thrown. Several windows were broken, one of these windows being the window of a grocery store operated by BERNARD SLOMAN. The crowd gradually dispersed and no other arrests were made.

During the early evening of Sunday, June 18, 1967, a crowd congregated at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, more or less for curiosity, to see if anything was happening. As the evening grew on, additional police cars came into the area to observe and stand by in the event of difficulty. Around 8:30 P.M., STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of the SNCC appeared on the scene, accompanied by a group of individuals some of whom were connected with SNCC. CARMICHAEL and some of these individuals walked around talking with the small groups of spectators who were just standing around in the shopping center observing. CARMICHAEL was wearing a green sweatshirt on which was painted an image of the late MALCOLM X, with the name MALCOLM X printed under the image. CARMICHAEL was also wearing plaid shorts, sandals and sun glasses. At this point there was no disorder. CARMICHAEL walked up to Captain EVERETT LITTLE and asked him why there were so many police cars in the area. Captain LITTLE informed CARMICHAEL that they were there to see that there was no disturbance and instructed CARMICHAEL to "move on." At this time CARMICHAEL started dancing up and down in front of Captain LITTLE, clapping his hands and singing words to the effect that if the police cars were not moved out they might have to riot. Captain LITTLE again instructed CARMICHAEL to move on, and after CARMICHAEL failed to do so, Captain LITTLE arrested him, charging him with Disorderly Conduct - Failure to Obey an Officer to Move On.

Shortly after the above individuals were booked at the Atlanta Police Department, they were visited by HOWARD MOORE, an attorney of the Negro race, who represents SNCC. Approximately 45 minutes after MOORE's departure, Dr. ROY C. BELL, a dentist of the Negro race,

appeared at the police department and arranged for the release of the above individuals on \$25.00 bond each. As these individuals were signing their bond release forms prior to being released, CARMICHAEL complained that he would not sign his bond release until he was given his comb, claiming the comb had been taken from him after his arrival at the police department. When the officers in the Station Captain's Office stated that they had no knowledge of any comb being taken from CARMICHAEL, he told them to take him back upstairs as he did not want to be released without his comb. A comb was later located and exhibited to CARMICHAEL, at which time he identified this comb as being his property. A Municipal Court hearing was set for 3:30 P.M., June 19, 1967.

The crowd at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center continued to remain in the area milling around and talking late into the night of June 18, 1967; however, no other arrests were made.

On June 19, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at the Atlanta Municipal Court, at which time his case was reset for June 22, 1967, due to the fact the attorney representing CARMICHAEL was unable to appear on June 19,

[REDACTED] advised on June 20, 1967 that as a result of disturbances at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center on June 19, 1967, the Dixie Hills Supermarket, operated by [REDACTED], was closed during the day of June 19, 1967.

At 12:30 P.M., officers [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were seated in their patrol car in the vicinity of the shopping center area. They heard the burglar alarm

on the store at which time they observed DOUGLAS RICHMOND, a Negro male, 21 years of age, beating on the burglary alarm bell, which is located on the side of the building with a broom handle. The officers had observed RICHMOND in the area earlier and at that time had instructed him to leave, as he had obviously been drinking. Officer [REDACTED] instructed RICHMOND to stop hitting on the bell with the broom handle and RICHMOND charged [REDACTED] hitting him on the back with the broom handle and also throwing a brick at [REDACTED] which caused a laceration on [REDACTED]'s right arm. During the scuffle, several bystanders charged Officer [REDACTED] to prevent him from subduing and arresting RICHMOND. Officer [REDACTED] pulled his service revolver, shooting RICHMOND in the left thigh. Officer [REDACTED] and RICHMOND were taken to the hospital, where both were treated and released.

Following the above incident, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who had been released from jail earlier in the day, held a press conference during which he charged police brutality and announced that a protest meeting would be held at St. Joseph's Baptist Church on the evening of June 19, 1967. This church is located in the close proximity of the Dixie Hills Shopping Center. The meeting began at about 8:00 P.M. with approximately 250 Negroes in attendance. State Senator LEORY JOHNSON was the first speaker and attempted to calm the attitude of the crowd. Reverend JOSEPH E. BOONE, who is connected with the Operation Breadbasket, a function of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was the next speaker who urged that a committee be formed to present grievances and protests to the police department relative to conditions in the community.

The next speaker was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, who made reference to the detective who had aided in the arrests made in the community on Saturday night and said that, "We don't want a hunkie lover like Detective Bailey in our community. If that Negro

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comes into our community he is going to get shot." CARMICHAEL said that his audience should not clap because they let off steam in this manner and that was their trouble as they were letting off steam when they should have slapped some heads.

CARMICHAEL was cheered and appeared to have the support of most of those present. The meeting was over shortly after 9:00 P.M., and the crowd surged to the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, where it soon increased in number to about 1,000. It appeared that STOKELY CARMICHAEL left shortly after making his appearance at the church. When the crowd left for the shopping center there were only about 40 police officers in the community and when the crowd started throwing rocks and bottles at officers and shouting "kill hunkie" the officers took cover behind patrol cars which received extensive damage at the hands of the mob.

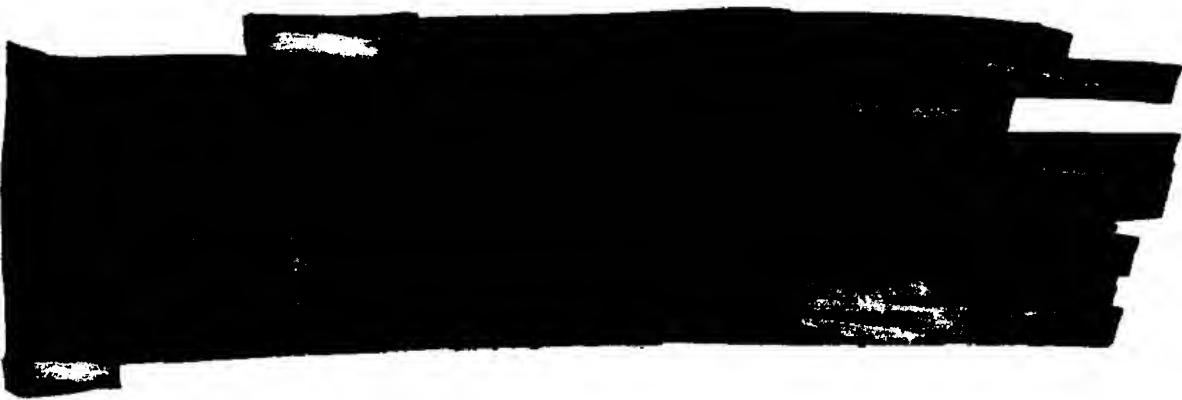
[redacted] advised on June 21, 1967, that H. RAP BROWN arrived at the SNCC Office in Atlanta around 4:50 P.M., on June 20, 1967, while a press conference was in progress, and announced that he had just returned to Atlanta from Cincinnati, Ohio. This press conference, which was covered by various national news media, revolved around the position of SNCC concerning the racial disturbances in the Dixie Hills area. RAP BROWN remarked during the conference that Negroes should be the ones to determine what goes on in a Negro community without any outside influence whatsoever.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC, appeared for trial in the Atlanta City Court on June 22, 1967, on the charge made against him at the time of his arrest on June 18, 1967, for "D.C. - failure to obey an officer to move on." CARMICHAEL was found guilty on this charge and sentenced to pay a fine of \$53.00 or serve 50 days in jail in the Atlanta City Stockade.

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On July 26, 1967, an article appeared in the "Atlanta Journal", datelined Washington, D. C., reflecting that H. RAP BROWN, the National Chairman of SNCC, had been arrested on Maryland State charges of Inciting Negroes to Riot in Cambridge, Maryland. The article reflected BROWN had spoken at a rally in Cambridge shortly before an outbreak of arson and disorder in the Negro section of the Eastern Shore community on Monday night, July 24, 1967. Maryland National Guardsmen were called in to restore order and a warrant charging BROWN with Inciting to Arson was issued.

Another article appearing in the July 28, 1967 issue of the "Atlanta Constitution", datelined Washington, D. C., reflects that BROWN urged cheering Negro supporters on the preceding Thursday to defeat President LYNDON B. JOHNSON in 1968 as a "wild mad dog, an outlaw from Texas" and to ignore appeals by moderate Negro leaders to abandon violence. BROWN added, "I say violence is necessary, violence is part of America's culture and is as American as cherry pie. Honky (the white man) is going to kill you--if not in Vietnam, on the streets of America. We built it up and you know what to do if it don't come around. If Washington don't come around, burn it down."



A characterization of SSOC appears in the Appendix of this report.

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An article appearing in the "Atlanta Constitution" of August 3, 1967, datelined Washington, D. C., reflects that Police Chief JACOB W. SCHOTT of Cincinnati, Ohio, told a Senate Judiciary Committee that rock throwing, fire bombing violence erupted in the streets of Cincinnati after STOKELY CARMICHAEL had urged Cincinnati Negroes to fight the police and burn the city. This was on April 29, 1967, he said, and after months of sporadic outbreaks they were undergoing a guerrilla type operation with kids operating from autos.

Police Chief JOHN A. SORACE of Nashville, Tennessee, told the Committee that a riot there on April 8, 1967, was caused by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, H. RAP BROWN and other functionaries of SNCC.

Chief SORACE said that the trouble began after SNCC held a week-long annual meeting in Nashville. He said CARMICHAEL had given speeches in the area for three days prior to the trouble and SNCC leaders from all parts of the country were in the city. He added that they had information that SNCC was planning a large-scale disturbance in Nashville.

Police Chief BRICE KINNAMON of Cambridge, Maryland, put the blame of a July 24, 1967, riot in Cambridge squarely on H. RAP BROWN. KINNAMON said a highly inflammatory speech by BROWN was the sole reason for the riot. It was a well organized and well planned affair.

On August 5, 1967, [REDACTED]
Lexington, Mississippi, furnished the following information:

Approximately 125 Negroes assembled outside Lexington City Hall during the 50-minute meeting symbolizing peaceful protest. Two or three white civil rights workers were observed among the crowd and a few white citizens appeared as spectators.

Mayor KENNA informed the committee he is willing to receive their written charges or affidavit at a hearing, but did not set a date.

At 7:30 P.M., August 5, 1967, approximately 100 Negroes marched, chanted, and demonstrated on the Lexington town square without notifying local authorities. Some shopping bags were pulled from the arms of shoppers by Negro demonstrators. No arrests were reported.

The Lexington Police Department and Sheriff's Office were on the scene and 30 to 35 members of the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol (MHSP) Riot Squad were dispatched to the area in the event violence occurred.

Approximately 10 Negroes were identified as out-of-state SNCC workers and have established a Black Liberation School in Lexington and will remain until after the November election campaigns.

At 10:00 P.M., August 5, 1967, the Lexington Police Department, Sheriff's Office and MHSP appeared to have the situation under control.

On August 11, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that the general racial situation in Lexington, Mississippi, appears to have returned to "normal".

[REDACTED] further advised that symptoms of unrest which existed in Lexington last week appear to be appreciably reduced.

According to [REDACTED] On August 10, 1967, the Black Citizens Committee met for the second time in six days at Lexington City Hall with Mayor W. B. KENNA.

The members of the Black Citizens Committee were dressed in business suits and an objective, unemotional exchange of views prevailed. The committee appeared to accept Mayor KENNA's decision to retain W. C. "Fats" JORDAN, Negro Police Department Officer, against whom the committee previously lodged oral complaints locally of brutality and harassment.

On the other hand, the committee voiced to Mayor KENNA a need for Negro representation in city Government. Allegedly Mayor KENNA advised them that the primary election on August 8, 1967, revealed a large turnout of Negro voters in Lexington and Holmes County, Mississippi, and that in the future through the ballot they can elect any qualified candidate(s) of their choice.

[REDACTED] stated that the entire meeting was tape-recorded.

Reportedly the meeting concluded with the committee and Mayor agreeing that problems in Lexington can best be equitably and fairly resolved without the presence of assistance from the out-of-state SNCC workers in Lexington.

In regard to the SNCC workers, [REDACTED] stated a meeting of Negroes was held in Lexington the evening of August 10, 1967, for the purpose of making a progress report of the Black Citizens Committee with Mayor KENNA. After the above facts were announced, WARREN BOOKER

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Lexington, Negro male, engaged in a heated verbal exchange with an unidentified SNCC worker. Allegedly BOOKER informed the SNCC workers that Lexington Negroes are being encouraged to withdraw their children from the SNCC Black Liberation School in Lexington. BOOKER allegedly stated that the type of education endorsed and promoted by SNCC at their school is not wanted or needed.

No recent arrests of Negroes reported by Lexington Police Department or Sheriff's Office. Officer JORDAN currently is assigned duties in another section of Lexington. No meetings or demonstrations are planned in the near future.

ERNEST CORNELIUS STEPHENS, SNCC, Negro male, date of birth May 25, 1941, at Detroit, Michigan, address [redacted] interviewed at Lexington August 11, 1967, by Special Agents of the FBI. STEPHENS admitted having supervisory control of 12 paid SNCC workers in Lexington. STEPHENS stated their purpose in Lexington is political organization, meaning the promotion of Negro Freedom Democratic Party candidates in the general election in November. STEPHENS advised a Black Liberation School has been established in Lexington and is attended from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. five days a week by both male and female students ranging in age from 10 to 21 years. Allegedly the school is financed through local contributions. STEPHENS stated their movement is a non-violent one; however, if attacked by a white person they will defend themselves. A .22 automatic rifle and a box of .22 cartridges were observed in the office where STEPHENS was interviewed. STEPHENS stated the weapon belonged to another office worker. STEPHENS was asked if the Negroes in Lexington were obtaining firearms, and he said "yes." STEPHENS would not describe the number, types, or source(s) of these weapons. STEPHENS stated that no violence or riots are planned by them unless it becomes necessary to defend themselves against white people. STEPHENS stated that he personally sees no difference between a Lexington, Mississippi Policeman, Jackson, Mississippi Policeman or a Ku Klux Klansman.

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The following article appeared on Page hhh2 of the October 13, 1967 Latin American daily report of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service concerning an interview with a SNCC leader regarding guerrilla warfare. This article is set forth as follows:

[Text] Havana--George Ware, one of the leaders of the combative Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the United States, has confirmed that the U.S. Negro population has no better way than guerrilla warfare to fight against its oppressors. "We cannot line up on one side of the street and permit the U.S. Army to line up on the other side in order to then start a battle. We must organize urban guerrillas for that confrontation in areas where the Negro population is in the majority," Ware stipulated.

Replying to a questionnaire from the Cuban magazine PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, Ware noted that those who hold power in the United States will never hand it, or part of it, over of their own spontaneous volition. "But we will be able to take that power if we fight for it," Ware said.

In its introduction, PENSAMIENTO CRITICO recalls that SNCC--the organization headed by Stokely Carmichael and W. Rap Brown--"thinks of its struggle as part of the total struggle of the Third world; that the causes of the racial violence in the United States are the same as the ones of the war in Vietnam and the guerrilla uprising in Latin America."

To a question about the change in the formerly moderate Negro movement, Ware replied: "The latest struggles represent a form of self-defense against police violence. All of the actions have begun in reaction to the brutality of the white guards. In that sense, they are manifestations of self-defense, but, at the same time, [they constitute] an offensive by Negroes who refuse to accept the economic and ideological exploitation to which they are subjected."

Then the young Afro-American declared that the struggle for integration in the United States does not constitute a complete solution to the problem and that it can occur only when all persons are equal. [Passage indistinct] "We have never heard any talk about a cultural exchange with the Negro population. We have always been told that we should integrate ourselves and that, if we integrate ourselves, we would become white."

To the whites who maintain that thesis, Ware replied that "I will not become a carbon copy of you in order to be accepted by you, because one would also have to take into account whether I am willing to accept you as you are, and this has never been discussed." Integration, he added, "confused many people. We believe that if a person wants to live in a Negro community, he should be granted the right to do so. The only obstacle would be if that person were to create a structure that would not permit the whites to live there or that the aforementioned person were to decide to move to a white community and its members, by force, prevented him from doing so. Therefore, instead of fighting for integration, we prefer to struggle to eliminate discrimination."

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GEORGE WARE has been identified by [REDACTED] as a local Atlanta SNCC member and active in these matters in Atlanta, Georgia.

On November 1, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished an article which appeared in "Granma", Havana copy of October 26, 1967. This article reflects in part that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had said on October 25, 1967, at Havana, that the immediate plans of his organization were to establish relations with the countries of the Third World, they will strengthen resistance to the war in Viet Nam, and they will intensify the revolution among the Negro masses in the United States.

An article appearing in the "Santa Barbara News-Press" (California) dated August 24, 1967, captioned "Students Discuss Ways to Destroy Universities" mentioned that STANLEY WISE of SNCC was a speaker at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California. WISE stated the institutions of this country must be destroyed and he is committed to the destruction of the present setup of the United States Government in that his organization, SNCC, was absolutely without a doubt responsible for the race riots throughout the country this summer.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY

On June 8, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that SNCC was distributing leaflets in opposition to the war in Viet Nam. This leaflet bears a photograph of "Uncle Sam" and states in part, "Uncle Sam Wants YOU Nigger." Notes appearing on this leaflet are to the effect, "Become a Member of the World's Highest Paid Black Mercenary Army;" "Fight For Freedom... (in Viet Nam);" "(Die Nigger--you can't die fast enough in the ghettos);" "Support White Power--travel to Viet Nam You Might Get a Medal!;" "Receive Valuable Training in the Skills of Killing Off Other Oppressed People!;" "So Run To Your Nearest Recruiting Chamber!" Source stated that part

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of the SNCC plan was to distribute these leaflets primarily in the area of college campuses.

On June 23, 1967, [redacted] advised that on June 21, 1967, a gathering took place at the University of Houston, Houston, Texas, at the new University Center beginning at 7:30 P.M. and 8:30 P.M. The meeting was held under sponsorship of the Viet Nam Summer Project and was chaired by GLEN DUVAL and DAVID SHROYAR. The main topic was discussion of activities being planned under the head of Viet Nam Summer. During the meeting the question was asked regarding what group would be more effective in certain areas on certain problems. This question was answered by it being pointed out that special notice should be paid to SNCC. It was further stated during the conference that H. RAP BROWN and JAMES FORMAN, both associated with SNCC, possibly stayed some place on Blodgett Street while they were in Houston, Texas.

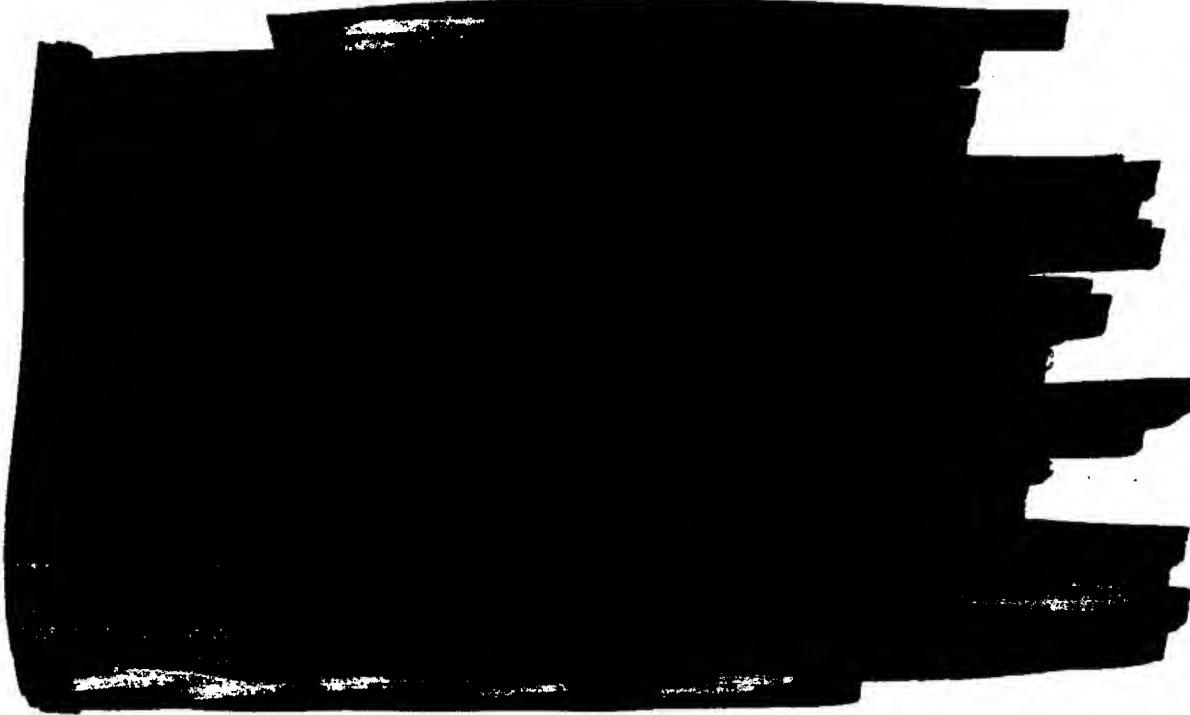
On July 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that the Atlanta Office of SNCC was planning to open a Freedom School at 430 Hunter Street, Atlanta.

This source later advised, however, that the City of Atlanta Department of Health had made an examination of the premises and had adjudicated that they were not suitable for the operation of a school, therefore, the school never materialized.

On July 9, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC was planning to have an organizational meeting at the T. E. Houston Funeral Home, 2480 Bankhead Highway, N.W., for the purpose of organizing a "Defense Committee." The purpose of this Committee is to select certain areas of Atlanta wherein a committee would be formed headed by a member of SNCC and the other members being composed of Negroes in the community. The purpose of this Committee was to effectively cover any police action in that particular area. The source subsequently advised that after several

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meetings this plan of SNCC never materialized for the lack of interest on the part of the people outside the SNCC organization.



[redacted] furnished information in 1967 reflecting that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, probably in connection with the operation of an International Office of SNCC in that City.

[redacted] advised on August 21, 1967, that Radio Havana, Cuba made the following broadcast on August 14, 1967:

"Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader who attended the OLAS (Organization of Latin American States) Conference in Havana as a special guest, stated in Havana that revolution is the most appropriate means to put an end to the cruel exploitation of the Negro population in the U.S. In an interview with Prensa Latina, Carmichael repeated the determination of the Afro-Americans to fight for their rights throughout the Nation. This battle will be hard and difficult, but there is no other way, according to Carmichael.

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"He said that the Negro American is fully convinced that the policy of peaceful coexistence with their exploiters will never bring positive results. Carmichael stated that upon his return to the U. S., he will recommend a change in the name of his organization, the Student Coordinating Committee for Nonviolent Action, to the Negro Liberation Movement. He explained that the new name of the movement will influence the minds of Afro-Americans toward a concept of battle for total emancipation, since they will realize it is linked with the battle to liberate the exploited nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

VIII. FINANCIAL CONDITION



On September 14, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter signed by WILLIAM PORTER of the Publication Department of SNCC, which states in part, "Due to the financial conditions and scarcity of news letters, we must ask for payment of the newsletter in advance. The cost of this subscription is \$2.00 per year. To be on our mailing list requires a contribution of \$5.00 per year and you receive news releases, Afro-American Reports, SNCC News Letter and a publications list of other available literature. We hope you are interested." According to this source, this letter was directed to all the people on the SNCC mailing list.

On November 13, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that STOKELY CAMICHAEL was reported to have arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 10, 1967, for the purpose of attending a fund raising endeavor that the SNCC was sponsoring at the

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Magnolia Ball Room, Sunset and Magnolia Streets, Atlanta, Georgia. The source advised that CARMICHAEL did not, in fact, arrive in Atlanta, but on November 11, 1967, it was learned that CARMICHAEL would be arriving in the United States through the port of New York sometime prior to Thanksgiving Day, 1967, and that he would spend about one and one-half weeks with his family in that city, before coming to Atlanta, Georgia. The source pointed out that CARMICHAEL's mother and sister reside at 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York.



The source pointed out that the National Headquarters of SNCC is in extreme dire financial circumstances



The source subsequently advised that the affair at the Magnolia Ball Room came off very nicely and was attended by approximately 50 to 75 persons. No incidents arose. It was obvious, however, that the affair was not the financial success that SNCC had hoped it would be.

IX. APPENDIX

FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO-INDEPENDENCIA
(FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE)
(FUPI)

The FUPI was organized in October, 1956, at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, as a student organization working to obtain independence for Puerto Rico. A source advised on May 28, 1962, that the FUPI was elected an integral member of the International Union of Students (IUS), Prague, Czechoslovakia, in October, 1960.

On August 25, 1966, ALBERTO PEREZ PEREZ was interviewed by public news media and he stated he was President of the FUPI; had just returned from travel to Moscow, U.S.S.R., on an official FUPI trip, and subsequent conferences of the IUS in Bulgaria, Cairo, Egypt, and Havana, Cuba; the FUPI continues to be affiliated with the IUS; and he and the FUPI advocate independence for Puerto Rico, preferably without violence, but would resort to violence to obtain independence if it appeared other methods would fail.

When interviewed on April 8, 1966, JOSE RAFAEL VARONA BLERRIOS stated he was the Secretary of International Affairs of the FUPI; the FUPI is affiliated with the IUS; and he believed in violence as a method of obtaining independence for Puerto Rico if conditions indicated violence might succeed, or aid, in obtaining Puerto Rican independence. VARONA reportedly was injured during a bombing raid by the United States' planes while he was visiting North Vietnam in April, 1967.

The IUS has been cited by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1956 as being among "international communist fronts functioning at the present time," and by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, in 1951, as one of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international organizations."

APPENDIX

FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON, aka
Freedom Socialist Party (FSP)

In April, 1966, a source advised that the members of the Seattle Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), executed a statement of resignation from the National SWP, dated April 9, 1965, following which they referred to themselves as the Seattle Branch, SWP (Unaffiliated), and temporarily adopted the name Freedom Socialist Party of Washington, aka Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). The group lead by RICHARD FRASER, aka Dick Fraser, Richard Kirk, Dick Kirk, formerly a member of the SWP National Committee, and his wife, CLARA FRASER, aka Clara Kaye, Organizer of the Seattle Branch, SWP, were known as the KIRK-KAYE Tendency. Their disagreement with the National SWP was over the questions of the Negro struggle, the colonial revolution, the Vietnamese War, regroupment, woman's emancipation, and party organizational principles.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In July, 1966, this source advised that the above group and others held a convention on July 9, 1966, at their headquarters, Freeway Hall, 3815 - Fifth Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington, having issued a call to "all signers of the FSP Nominating Petition at the 1964 Nominating Convention and all revolutionary socialists who wished to help build the FSP."

In October, 1964, a second source advised that the name Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of the State of Washington was used by the Seattle Branch, SWP, in its then current political campaign.

The first source further advised that at the convention on July 9, 1966, the group adopted the name FSP of Washington, became a membership organization, and appointed a committee pending the general organization of the group.

According to the first source, the FSP held a meeting on July 24, 1966, at which CLARA FRASER gave the Executive Committee report, and the recommendations of the committee, including the selection of officers, were unanimously accepted by the membership. The officers selected were:

APPENDIX

FRANK KRASNOWSKY, Organizer;
GUS CARTON, Associate Organizer;
MIRIAM RADER, Recording Secretary;
BOB PATRICK, Finances;
DICK FRASER, National Relations and writer of
documents;
CLARA FRASER, Publications, with other duties
assigned to other members.

In August, 1966, the first source furnished the August 5, 1966, issue of "The Freedom Socialist", self-described as the "Voice of the FSP of Washington." This publication states, "We are a new revolutionary socialism organization," stating that it is comprised of the former Seattle Branch, SWP, "individual independent radicals who were part of the 1964 united socialist electoral coalition which created the FSP," and "A new segment of radical youth who have recently adopted Marxism as their political philosophy."

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

The records of the New York State Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the Certificate of Incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.



The Second Quarter, 1966, issue of "Freedomways," self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, lists the following as its editorial staff:

John Henrik Clarke, Associate Editor
Esther Jackson, Managing Editor
J. H. O'Dell, Associate Managing Editor
John L. Devine, Art Editor

A third source made available information on July 1, 1964, indicating that John Henrik Clarke attended the first and founding meeting of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) which was held on December 19, 1963, and continued on January 10, 1964.

This source also made available information on August 14, 1964, indicating that Clarke is an "Associate" of AIMS.



AT 200-GAL 3
FINDOMINIC ASSOCIATES, INC.
2

This source advised in July, 1962, that as of that period, O'Dell was considered by the CPUSA, as being a member of its National Committee.



On July 24, 1963, a fifth source described John Devine as a CP member.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Fort Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 205, 1603 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. *** Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and KOREN SOBELL," August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

AP 100-4675

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) with headquarters at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student", which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.



On August 12, 1966, a third source advised that Donald Leslie Boner, white male, age 22, of 3105 Louise Drive, Nashville, Tennessee, had been in the CP about four months.

SOULFUL STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

[REDACTED]

On February 28, 1967, a fourth source advised that Patti Rabbitt of Seattle Washington, a member of the Northwest CP District, had gone to Nashville, Tennessee, to organize in connection with a CP assignment.

On June 8, 1967, source five advised that Patti Rabbitt, Brian Neggen, Donald Leslie Boner and wife Carol Stevens Boner are all active members of SSOC in Nashville and that Neggen is now editor of the official SSOC publication, "New South Student."

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The March of the June, 1967, issue of "Southern Patriot", official publication of SSOC, lists Carol Stevens Boner and Alan Freedman as Editors and lists Carl Braden as Executive Director.

The "Nashville Pioneer", Nashville, Tennessee, newspaper issue of May 5, 1967, reported that SSOC was preparing for the May 17, 1967, appearance of Mike Zegarelli, National Youth Director, CPUSA, at Vanderbilt University; that Bill Ross, Press Agent for SSOC, on May 12, 1967, brought to the "Pioneer" office publicity material which the CP had sent to SSOC.

The April, 1967, issue, Volume IV, No. 4, of "New South Student", published each month, October through May, by SSOC, carried an article on page 72 entitled "CIA American Labor," by Ronald Boner, a review of a book entitled, "The CIA and American Labor," authored by George Morris, Labor Editor of "The Workers," east coast Communist newspaper. Boner is described therein as an active member of the Nashville SSOC chapter.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

December 18, 1967

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY-SHOC

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated [REDACTED] and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA | OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE 5/14/68 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/8-5/3/68 |
| TITLE OF CASE O STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) | | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | TYPED BY bjc |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTERS | |

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA [REDACTED] 12/18/67
Bureau airtels dated 1/31 and 4/15/68.

- P -

LEADSATLANTAAT ATLANTA, GA.

Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/68, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from date of this report.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|-------|---------|-------------|---|
| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None | | | | | ACQUIT-TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: |
| CIVIC | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO |

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---------|
| APPROVED COPIES MADE: | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>772 CWS</i> | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 15 MAY 15 1968 | REC- 44 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10-Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1-Baltimore (100-23331) (RM) 1-Birmingham (157-2425) (RM) (COPIES CONTINUED) 3-Atlanta (100-6488) | | | |

| Dissemination Record of Attached Report | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-----|------------------|
| Agency | ACSI | NIC | OSI |
| Request Recd. | TSO, CAC, CJA, IBD, STATE | | CTA (BY LIAISON) |
| Date Fwd. | 5/14/68 | 17 | |
| How Fwd. | 6601N3 1968 | | |

Notations

DISSEMINATE SECY

AT 100-6488

1-Boston (100-35267) (RM)
1-Buffalo (157-213) (RM)
1-Chicago (100-40342) (RM)
1-Cincinnati (100-14158) (RM)
1-Columbia (100-131) (RM)
1-Dallas (100-10996) (RM)
1-Detroit (100-31374) (RM)
1-Houston (100-20390) (RM)
1-Indianapolis (100-14281) (RM)
1-Jackson (100-186) (RM)
1-Jacksonville (100-635) (RM)
1-Knoxville (157-102) (RM)
1-Los Angeles (100-63822) (RM)
1-Memphis (157-109) (RM)
1-Mobile (100-1693) (RM)
1-Newark (100-47817) (RM)
1-New Haven (157-527) (RM)
1-New Orleans (100-16890) (RM)
1-New York (100-147963) (RM)
1-Philadelphia (100-46820) (RM)
1-St. Louis (100-19355) (RM)
1-San Francisco (100-50885) (RM)
1-Savannah (157-222) (RM)
1-Seattle (100-26956) (RM)
1-WFO (100-41626) (RM)
1-CO, OSI, OSI District 6,
Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Fort
McPherson, Georgia (RM)

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AT 100-6488

INFORMANT DATA:

| <u>Source</u> | <u>Date of Activity</u> | <u>File Location</u> |
|---------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| [REDACTED] | 10/23/67 | 100-6488-4056 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/18/67 1/22/68 2/12/68 | 100-6488-4066 4180 4280 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/8/67 | 100-6488-4095 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/8/67 | 100-6488-4095 |
| [REDACTED] | 12/2/67 11/15/67 11/28/67 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | 12/11/67 3/22/68 | 100-6488-4571 |
| [REDACTED] | 1/2/68 | 100-6488-4130 |
| [REDACTED] | 11/20/67 | [REDACTED] |
| [REDACTED] | 2/1/68 | 100-6488-4306 |

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AT 100-6488

| <u>Source</u> | <u>Date of Activity</u> | <u>File Location</u> |
|---------------|-------------------------------|--|
| [REDACTED] | 1/20/68 3/14/68 4/24/68 | 100-6488-4315 4524 4757 |
| [REDACTED] | 1/12/68 | 100-6488-4276 |
| [REDACTED] | 5/7/68 | instant report |
| [REDACTED] | 2/28/67 | 100-6488-4394 |
| [REDACTED] | 7-8/67 | 100-6488-4400 |
| [REDACTED] | 2/25/68 | 100-6488-4414 |
| [REDACTED] | 11/29/67 | Used to characterize KENNETH and ELIZABETH ROTTGER |
| [REDACTED] | 1/66 | " " |
| [REDACTED] | 2/19/68 | 100-6488-4428 |
| [REDACTED] | ----- | Used to characterize [REDACTED] |

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AT 100-6488

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified Secret, no foreign dissemination, no dissemination abroad, as information contained herein was so classified by information attributed to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Bureau airtel dated 4/15/68, indicated that offices contained in the copy count of this report are to submit 90 day reports on SNCC as long as the organization remains active in their particular areas. A copy of this report is being furnished each of these offices for information so that they will be apprised of the national SNCC activity.

In view of Bureau instructions, Atlanta is not repeating in instant report information developed by these offices.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~

Copy to:
1-Commanding Officer, OSI, OSI District Six,
Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: May 14, 1968

Field Office File #: AT 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: National Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, South-
west, Atlanta, Ga. [REDACTED]

Jewelry store closed for lack of business and plans made to open anti-draft office in same location. SNCC officials identified as having visited Cuba. Instructions re security of travel information of officials set forth. Several SNCC personnel worked temporarily with the SCLC. Individuals with CP affiliation identified as making temporary housing arrangements for SNCC personnel arriving in New York City. National program and policies of organization set forth.

[REDACTED]

- P -

GROUP I
Excluded from Automatic Down-
grading and Declassification

~~SECRET~~

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION
NO DISSEMINATION ABROAD

AT 100-6488

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I. ADDRESS

A. National Headquarters

The National Headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are located at 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia. This address is situated in a semi-industrial area and is surrounded by commercial establishments.

[redacted] advised on February 25, 1968, that SNCC had planned to move the Atlanta SNCC Office to New York because it was felt that H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, would be in New York for some time. This source later indicated, however, that in view of BROWN's arrest for violation of his bail bond provisions, the plans to move SNCC had been changed, but that the printing plant maintained in Atlanta would be moved to New York.

B. Shop Operated by SNCC

On November 20, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC was opening a jewelry store located at 8 Raymond Street, Northwest, and that this store would be in charge of JENNIFER LAWSON. This source subsequently advised that the store made money for a while in its sale of costume jewelry, but that in the weeks prior to May 1, 1968, business had dropped off tremendously. [redacted] advised that because of the decreased business, the jewelry store was being closed and that in its place SNCC would operate an office devoted to anti-draft matters. The source pointed out that one of SNCC's prime objectives is to oppose the United States Government's policy of intervention in Viet Nam.

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On December 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that he received information through rumors that several individuals affiliated with SNCC had traveled to Mexico City seeking funds and support through speeches and related activities there.

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On December 8, 1967, [REDACTED] advised he received information from an unrecalled individual that other SNCC members had traveled to Mexico in September or October of 1967, seeking support for the organization in that city.

[REDACTED]

On December 11, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter prepared by BENETTA IVEY, associated with the Distribution Department of SNCC, reflecting on the financial conditions of the organization. This letter reads as follows:

AT 170-200A-2

"Dear _____

"Please accept our apologies for our present and past inadequacies; specifically our distribution of literature.

"We have been beset by numerous setbacks and hardships, most of them financial.

"Because of our previous problem of no lights and present problem of no telephones, our production departments have been stifled.

"We cannot mean to burden you with our problems, but such is the nature of an organization such as ours that is dedicated to the alleviation of oppressions on all levels, when it encounters and runs counter to the aims and aspirations of the power structure.

"Some of our mechanical problems have been solved but our ever pressing financial situation is still very much a reality.

"Nevertheless, we are working diligently, trying to fill orders, etc. Despite our acute shortage of materials.

"We appreciate your patience and your consideration.

"Sincerely,

"(Miss) Lenetta Ivey
Distribution"

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On January 12, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that there apparently had been some type of reconciliation between the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and SNCC. The source stated that while STOKELY CARMICHAEL was out of the United States from August, 1967, to December, 1967, and H. RAP BROWN was involved in legal matters concerning his activities, SNCC as an organization began to fall apart. The source said that they were in such bad financial condition that some of the SNCC members in Atlanta reportedly contacted Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., of SCLC for financial assistance so that SNCC could get back on its feet financially. According to the source, Dr. KING reportedly advised the members of SNCC that he would be willing to give them financial assistance provided SNCC adopt a more non-violent attitude in regard to civil rights activity. The source advised that after consideration, SNCC finally agreed to adopt a more non-violent attitude and as a result was given financial assistance by SCLC.

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[REDACTED] advised on May 7, 1968, that some SNCC personnel were working at SCLC as the need for funds was urgent and they had no other source of income.

On February 8, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that he learned that the SCLC had employed three SNCC members to work in its department of information. The decision on the part of SCLC to employ these individuals was made by WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD, Executive Director of SCLC, primarily because additional personnel was needed and these three individuals were without employment. The source advised that he was not aware of any particular significance being attached to SCLC having employed these three people and that in the past, Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., then President of SCLC, had cautioned the organization that SCLC not permit these individuals to influence SCLC employees with "any SNCC philosophies." *██████████*

[REDACTED] advised that CAROL RUTH SILVER, KENNETH WILLIAM ROTTGER, and BETTY ROTTGER were contributors and/or subscribers to the SNCC. On January 17, 1968, CAROL RUTH SILVER advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is a member of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Community Alert Patrol, Los Angeles, California, and that she was an attorney with the California Rural Assistance League, which is a private agency operated under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

[REDACTED]

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In January of 1966, [REDACTED] indicated that ELIZABETH ROTTGER was the Educational and Literature Director of the 23rd District Club of the Southern California District Communist Party.

[REDACTED]

III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

Information secured from [REDACTED] identifies the following as national officers of SNCC:

H. RAP BROWN

H. RAP BROWN was elected National Chairman of the organization in May of 1967. Since that time BROWN has been arrested on charges ranging from Federal Firearms Act to assault on a federal officer. At the present time BROWN is free on bail and is currently staying in New York City, taking an active part in functions of SNCC. He has traveled recently with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC.

STANLEY LEROY WISE

STANLEY LEROY WISE is the Executive Secretary of SNCC. He currently resides in Atlanta, Georgia, and has made trips to New Orleans, where he met with SNCC sympathizers in an effort to raise bond for H. RAP BROWN, who was then

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confined to jail in that city. According to [REDACTED] WISE is extremely militant in his Black Power philosophy and is considered a leader in the SNCC organization.

RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE

FEATHERSTONE was elected Program Director of the organization in May of 1967. Since that time he has made trips to Cuba at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO. FEATHERSTONE was formerly a Project Director for SNCC in Neshoba, Mississippi, and has served on the Central Committee of SNCC. His name appears on the mailing list of the National Committee to Abolish the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and also on the Draft Resistance Union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE

WARE is Program Director of SNCC and more recently has been active in the Akron, Ohio, area. WARE is alleged to be associated with the National Student Union and has been active in organizing campus programs.

ETHEL HARRIET MINOR

MINOR is the Communications Director of SNCC and has resided in Chicago, Illinois, where she was active in the Nation of Islam organization. She has been described by [REDACTED] as a dedicated SNCC employee, working long, hard hours in getting literature and publications ready for rallies by SNCC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on March 14, and 15, 1968, and reportedly stayed at MINOR's apartment while in Atlanta. MINOR appeared on platform with CARMICHAEL at Black Congress sponsored rally for defense of HUEY NEWTON, Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968.

IV. NATIONAL PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF SNCC

An article appearing in the Atlanta Constitution of December 28, 1967, reflects that JULIUS LESTER, writing in the current issue of the SNCC newsletter, has advocated making President LYNDON B. JOHNSON "afraid to leave the White House", as a tactic of protest over Viet Nam. LESTER advocated that protests should be aimed at the President's limousine "To resist is to make the President afraid to leave the White House because he will be spat upon wherever he goes to tell his lies." "His limousine will find the streets filled with tacks and thousands of people who will surge around it, smashing the windows and rocking the car until it is turned on its side." LESTER is described as having recently returned from a trip to North Viet Nam and Cuba.

The article continued that STANLEY WISE, Executive Secretary of SNCC, said that the LESTER article did not mean SNCC endorses such tactics.

In the same issue of the SNCC newsletter, SNCC said it "reaffirms its political opposition to Zionism." SNCC said that reaction to its anti-Israel statements has ranged from intellectual dishonesty and moral hypocrisy to outright racism. The newspaper article continued that a third article appearing in the SNCC newsletter by Chairman H. RAP BROWN called on Negroes in the United States to "prepare yourself psychologically" for guerilla war against the apartheid government of the Union of South Africa.

[REDACTED] on January 2, 1968, made available an article which appeared in "Granma", Havana, Cuba, on December 8, 1967.

"WE HOPE THE VIET NAMESE WIN - STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"Paris, Dec. 7 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL, American Negro leader, in speaking at a meeting, stated that the basic duty of all revolutionaries throughout the world is to help the Viet Namese, who are fighting the third world war to defend the entire world.

"We can state our position, loud and clear: we do not want peace in Viet Nam. We want the Viet Namese to beat the United States in Viet Nam," said CARMICHAEL.

"He stated we must shed our blood for our brother nation of Viet Nam, and that is not too high a price to ask. He said that we must cut off the hands of the American Imperialists in order to stop their desire to conquer the world. Viet Nam is the vanguard of this battle.

"Those who suffer most in the Viet Nam war are, naturally, the Viet Namese and American youth, white and black, but we Negroes are those who supply cannon fodder for this war. That is no surprise, because we have always been in the front line in the wars carried on by the Western Imperialists."

"Concerning the battle within the United States, CARMICHAEL stated: "The time for words has passed. Now is the time to differentiate between the protest movement and the resistance movement. Now we must fight.....we must tell JOHNSON that we do not want to be a nation of assassins. If it is necessary, we will sink the U. S. in chaos. We must say it loud and strong. Now we are escalating our resistance movement against the war in Viet Nam. We are escalating because the Viet Namese are not our enemies, the Viet Namese are our brothers, the Viet Namese are our comrades in arms."

"Finally, CARMICHAEL explained that his presence in France had been merely to attend the meetings organized

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during "Che Guevara Week," and he stated the rumors that he was there to create problems for the French government were ridiculous.



On February 12, 1968, [REDACTED] furnished an article which appeared in "El Mundo", Havana, Cuba, on February 4, 1968. This article is as follows:

"HELP FOR SNCC IN PARIS"

Paris, Feb. 3 (PL)--The "Committee of Friends of SNCC" (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the U. S.), created in Paris last January 20th, is carrying out many activities "to give concrete help to the Negro battle for liberation in North America."

According to the most recent information issued by the Committee of Friends "meetings have been held at which detailed reports have been made by Afro-Americans

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and Africans on the principal problems coming from the Negro uprising in the U. S."

The speakers discussed the U. S. draft, which affects a number of Negroes, to send American soldiers to Viet Nam."

In March, 1968, [redacted] furnished the following statement issued by SNCC, 100 5th Avenue, New York, New York:

A SHORT MESSAGE TO REVOLUTIONARIES

For the black revolution to be successful, it is necessary that we develop a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program. We must understand that our first fight is the fight for survival. Therefore, for every act of violence that is directed toward us, we must retaliate two-fold. To do this it is necessary that underground groups be formed that can avenge the community, not once, twice, but many times. These groups therefore, must out of necessity be secret, not only from 'the man', but from the community. We must not forget that there are still many traitors inside of our own communities.

We must remember that revolutions do not happen over night. The Vietnamese have been fighting for more than 25 years and they're still fighting. Therefore, we have to begin thinking of committing our lives to the liberation struggle. Every black person has a role and it is each person's responsibility to discover how he can best fulfill that role, be it on the job or on the block. In a revolution there is room for every skill and every talent and there is no one without a skill or talent. Dedicate that ability to the revolution.

We must begin to strengthen the militant organizations that now exist inside the country. These organizations are prime targets of the Government for destruction and it is the responsibility of the black community to see that they are not destroyed. We are able to keep our fine cars filled with gas, yet we let those organizations that stand in the vanguard get along on a tank of gas and most of the time, a drop of gas. We can fill the white man's pocket full of money and not ever think about how those who have quit their jobs to work full-time for the revolution make it from day-to-day. And when we are asked for money to support these organizations, we say that all they want is our money. But we get mad and want to fight if someone says that we are not revolutionary.

SNCC is one of those organizations that is in the revolutionary vanguard. All over the country blacks talk about Black Power, a concept that SNCC developed, yet SNCC is in constant danger of being destroyed because it lacks the necessary funds to operate. Yet, SNCC is respected in the black community and a vacuum would be created if SNCC were to be destroyed by 'the man.' It is the responsibility of the community to see that this does not happen. If we are to do the job that needs to be done, we need your support.

SNCC
100 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

AT 100-6488

On February 15, 1968, [REDACTED] made available the
following Position Paper of SNCC:

15b

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

LUSAKA, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
24 July - August 1967

Organized by the United Nations with the cooperation
of the Government of the Republic of Zambia

THE INDIVISIBLE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM,
APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM

Position Paper of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods — the American equivalent of the sjambok. There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the U.S.A. The cells of Robin Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside! As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States but throughout the world"; and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference that: "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism and economic exploitation" wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with

its own views. Therefore, although our name indicates the original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its program and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Vietnam militates against any possible constructive action by the U.S.A. in other areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy-makers of the U.S. government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance — without strings — to developing areas, including the ghettos of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of any American national, laying the pall of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Vietnam War in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:

We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for th

freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that United States' government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. (See Appendix A for the full text)

The problem of Vietnam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplores the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system — a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The U.S. opposes such sanctions — and not only because of its involvement in an East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African

phase of the struggle against racism. In 1965, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, SNCC became active in attempts to mobilize pressure against the system of apartheid in South Africa by conducting a week of demonstrations in the offices of the South African consulate and the South African mission to the U.N., both in New York. It has also participated with other organizations in the attempt to get Americans to withdraw their accounts from banks doing a large volume of business in the Republic of South Africa.

Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans — and their allies — are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices. A total of 12 Negro employees have filed charges against the bank with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, charging the "baas" mentality among supervisors, denial of promotions and job training opportunities, and intimidation, harassment and constant surveillance after they had dared to challenge these practices. Finally, nine employees were dismissed for seeking redress of grievances. This struggle continues. (See Appendix B)

The parallels between the African liberation movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked — without their consent — to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations—some of them represented at this conference—as well

as all levels of government have tried to undermine, contain, or simply destroy the organization. Numerous incidents might be cited, but a very recent one will illustrate the point. This month, five SNCC-affiliated students from Texas Southern University will go on trial in Houston, Texas. Their trial is the outgrowth of events on May 16, 1967, when 500 Texas police armed with rifles, machine guns, shotguns and dogs, fired upon and then invaded two dormitories at the University. In the wild shooting, one policeman shot another and a patrolman was killed. Despite the fact that the patrolman was shot on the side of a building where there were no doors or windows, and despite the fact that at least two of the five accused students can prove their absence from the scene, these five have been charged with murder. The brutal conduct of the police inside the dormitories, where they destroyed property indiscriminately, kicked a dormitory house mother, and arrested 487 students (some of whom they also beat) — with these crimes, the state of Texas is unconcerned. This is the same state which the President and the Attorney General of the United States call home.

This is only one of many recent incidents of massive police brutality. Such occurrences led the New York office of SNCC to issue an appeal to the African and Asian missions to the United Nations on June 13th, 1967. (See Appendix C)

This, then, is a brief summary of some aspects of SNCC's recent activity and experience which have relevance for those gathered here. What conclusions and recommendations may be drawn for the consideration of this conference?

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the U.S.A.. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the U.S.A., each backing up the other, each rendering what support it can to the other. Therefore, SNCC has come to this conference not only to express its condemnation of apartheid and colonialism, already affirmed in previous statements, and to offer

its moral support to all Africans engaged in liberation struggles. We also come to assert that we consider ourselves and other black people in the United States a colonized people; a colony within the United States in many ways similar to colonies outside the boundaries of the United States and other European nations.

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the Americas front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We seek their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts. Among African leaders, a remarkable degree of consensus has developed during the past five years on the acceptance of the strategy of a multi-pronged attack upon apartheid, racism, white-settler domination, and the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa. As part of that strategy, they have enlisted the support of the United Nations in arraigning South Africa before the bar of world opinion; in condemning oppressive policies in Portuguese territories; in voting to assume administration over Southwest Africa; and in declaring economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These leaders have also tried to bring the U.N. to the point of voting sanctions against South Africa.

We support that effort to obtain action in the United Nations and, as our recent appeal to the Afro-Asian nations indicates, we shall attempt to do the same for our own struggle. The United Nations is not only a world forum where grievances are legitimately aired. Its constituent nations have signed agreements with regard to Human Rights. Although these agreements are often violated, it is the duty of the citizens of the constituent nations to pressure their own nation and others to abide by these agreements. SNCC has never accepted the position that racism in the U.S.A. is a domestic issue that should not be aired before the United Nations. We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC

staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SNCC statement condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern — an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegation resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X, who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the U.N. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has set up a Liberation Committee to give aid to Freedom Fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African member-states will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms — guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the

future. There are those who still hope that effective economic sanctions are possible. There are also those — among them, we of SNCC — who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation states, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labor Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Vietnam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the U.N. and of its associated organizations? Will certain powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "Communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the status quo? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casualties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness?" Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, if and when such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

SNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever-widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting

C. C. dent

Nonviolent

360 Nelson Street, S.W.

Coordinating

Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Committee

688-0331

March 4, 1968

MARCH 20----DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN and
THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

white america has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gases, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 4 inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel, and make powder out of brick walls) and lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white america always treats her enemies-----
~~SHE MURDERS THEM!!~~

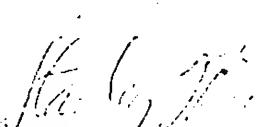
The most recent example of white america's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The bloody murders in Orangefburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. we in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 20 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

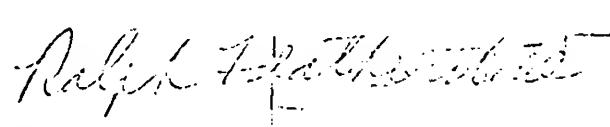
For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNair in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is most dear to white america: it's material possessions.

So---take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle----but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go!

WE MUST FIGHT!

WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A FIGHT!


Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary


Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary

STAND AND FIGHT

the aims, aspirations, and techniques — including armed struggle — of those who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau, and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

On another level, we visualize the application of those techniques of organization and struggle that have won us our limited victories at home to the task of trying to prevent U.S. intervention against liberation struggles in Africa. There is the task, too, of mobilizing support for the African liberation struggle, as African leaders ask for it. In turn, we hope that our African brothers may assist us in our struggle in appropriate and feasible ways. On the educational level, we would refer again to the question of the press. As the domestic American press is dominated by white conservatives, the U.S. Information Service operating overseas seeks to cultivate an image of the American government on the side of African-Americans — an image of constant progress being made. Needless to say, this is not the truth. But we must still work to counteract the constant flow of propaganda to that effect, and the constant omission of news which might challenge the image. We welcome your assistance in this effort.

In concluding this paper, we would like to summarize and list our basic points and concrete suggestions:

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CON

1.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XX) of 26 October 1965 on "Question of the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories".

We recommend and vigorously urge that this matter be placed upon the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, and we especially recommend and strenuously urge that a special seminar be convened and held to study and investigate the nexus between racial, political, economic and cultural discrimination in the United States, and racial discrimination and apartheid in Southern Africa.

We further recommend and urge that the policies of racial discrimination in the United States be condemned as posing a grave threat to international peace and security and a violation of the human rights charter; and that a resolution of the General Assembly be duly recorded as condemning the trend in the United States toward racial pogroms and condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a crime against humanity.

2.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2142 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination".

3.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

4.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 on "The policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa."

5.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966 on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

6.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 on the question of South West Africa.

7.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 on the question of territories under Portuguese administration.

8.

We especially encourage and recommend that all member states and non-governmental organizations use every means of persuasion at their command to influence "the government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering power to put an end to the illegal, racist minority of Southern Rhodesia."

9.

We recommend that the ties between non-governmental organizations and the people of Southern Africa be strengthened, that effective and continuing means of communications be established between NGO and the people of Southern Africa. We further encourage non-governmental organizations to take more vigorous and decisive roles in the liberation struggles and in United Nations activities to end racism, apartheid and colonialism.

10.

We intend to add further recommendations to our position during the course of the conference on racism, colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

January 6, 1966

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:

We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly, in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Young and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.

Samuel Young was murdered because U.S. law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are being murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The U.S. is no respector of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires. We recall the indifference, suspicion and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.

We know for the most part that elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and concern. We question then the ability and even the desire of the U.S. government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of "preserve freedom in the world" is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashed liberation movements which are not bound and refuse to be bound by the expediency of the U.S. cold war policy.

We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft, which would compel them to contribute their lives to U.S. aggression in the name of the "freedom" we find so false in this country. We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of this supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16% of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a "democracy" which does not exist for them at home.

We ask: Where is the draft for the Freedom fight in the United States?

We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within the country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as painfully as in Vietnam.

FACTS REGARDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AT CHASE MANHATTAN BANK

FACTS REVEAL THAT NOT ONLY DOES THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK FINANCIALLY SUPPORT APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT IT PRACTICES ITS OWN PERSONAL APARTHEID ON ITS NEGRO EMPLOYEES HERE IN THE UNITED STATES AT ONE CHASE MANHATTAN PLAZA, NEW YORK CITY — THE MAIN BRANCH, HEAD OFFICE.

THE FACTS TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS STAPLING CHARGE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. On March 22, 1967, seven male Negro employees filed complaints with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, under the direction of William Booth, charging their supervisors with discriminatory practices in the areas of:
 - a. Job related training and schooling
 - b. Promotion and advancement opportunities
 - c. Unequal and unfair distribution of work loads
2. On March 23, 1967, five female Negro employees filed complaints with the same Commission, charging similar practices on the part of their supervisors.
3. During the interim of the filed complaints and the Commission's lengthy investigation, several attempts on the part of the Negro employees to meet with responsible bank officials to resolve the differences were denied by the bank.
4. After the complaint had been filed and the Bank officials notified, those Negroes who had filed the complain and other Negroes friendly toward them became the victims of even more intensified discrimination, intimidation, harassment, constant surveillance (as though they were criminals), insidious acts, vicious remarks, and even pressured resignations by Bank authorities.
5. On May 1, 1967, a detailed report was submitted in writing to the City Commission on Human Rights, stating the continuation of discriminatory practices and acts described above and offering recommendations of the complainants to be submitted to responsible Bank officials as possible solutions to the racial problems.
6. Several attempts by the Human Rights Commission to bring the complainants and the bank officials to a friendly conference table were refused by the Bank authorities. Thus, the Commission was forced to subpoena the responsible Bank officials to a conference table on June 6, 1967. The Bank's representation at that conference was so pathetic that at one point in the discussion, the attorney from the Commission told the senior Bank official : "I would like to inform you that some of your replies to these people's questions are very out in left field".
7. On June 26, 1967, a Negro employee (provoked and harassed by one of the guilty culprits) was discharged from the Bank because of some petty nonsense on the part of that same supervisor. Eight other Negro employees spoke up in defense of their co-worker, charging that the discharge was unfair. One by one, they in turn were discharged from the Bank's employ and told to leave the premises immediately. Nine men, most of whom have wives and children, lost their jobs in less than one hour and a half!

June 13, 1967

STATEMENT TO AFRO-ASIAN MISSIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON EVENTS IN PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA

The following statement, sent to all African and Asian Missions to the United Nations on June 12, 1967, was released today by James Forman, Director of International Affairs for SNCC ("Snick"):

Dear brothers and sisters:

We reject the position of the United States government that intolerable racism in the United States is a purely domestic concern. We find this claim as hypocritical as the claim of the racist government of South Africa that its suppression of the human rights of 13,000,000 Africans is an internal matter, or a similar claim by the government of Portugal. Such claims are typical of colonial powers. We maintain that unwarranted and brutal suppression of black people in the United States is a matter of international concern. We are therefore addressing to you an appeal for your moral support, in the form of direct or indirect pressure upon that government which loudly proclaims its concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people yet will not guarantee basic human rights to black people in this country. We make this appeal in the spirit of SNCC's declaration, made formal in May, 1967, that it is a Human Rights Organization concerned with human rights not only in the United States but throughout the world.

Needless to say, the suppression of the human rights of black people is a long-standing reality in this country. The immediate basis for our appeal is the recent attack on black people in Prattville, Alabama, about which we would like to inform you at this time.

On the afternoon of Sunday, June 11, a meeting of black people to discuss political organizing was held on the grounds of the St. Mark's Church in Prattville, Alabama, a small town located in Autauga County, about 40 miles from Montgomery. It is in this county that Mrs. "Ladybird" Johnson has extensive land holdings. The meeting was being addressed by former SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael when a police car drove up and an officer began harassing Brother Carmichael for speaking of "Black Power" to the gathering. This officer was Kim Hill, who earlier this year was accused of murdering a black prisoner in the Prattville jail (he was later cleared despite strong evidence of guilt). Hill repeatedly harassed Brother Carmichael for saying "Black Power" and finally arrested him on charges of disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace. This was at approximately 5 p.m.

Black people in Prattville, angered by the arrest, moved swiftly to protest it at the jail and elsewhere. Gunfire was exchanged by black and white residents. Later that evening, a meeting of black people was taking place in the home of Mr. Daniel Houser, a local resident. Ku Klux Klansmen and other whites began firing on the house, where there were approximately 40 persons, the majority of them women and children. SNCC Executive Secretary Stanley Wise and Alabama Field Secretary Johnnie Jackson were also in the house. The police cordoned off a large area of the community; newsmen and others were not allowed through. A unit of the National Guard arrived from Montgomery. The house remained under siege until approximately 4 a.m. The local telephone operator repeatedly cut off calls between the house and SNCC staff as well as newsmen. Rumors that Stokely Carmichael had been lynched spread in the town.

At about 4 a.m., police ordered those in the house outside. Stanley Wise, together with Theophas Smith and Ulysses Munley, two Alabama volunteers working with SNCC, were arrested on a charge of inciting to riot. The other black people went back into the house about an hour later and remained there until late in the morning, Monday, June 12.

AT 100-6488

[REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter dated March 4, 1968, issued by the SNCC at Atlanta, Georgia:

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, Atlanta (100-6488)

Date: April 9, 1968

FBI File No. 100-439190

Lab. No. D-559234 IK

Re: SNCC

IS - SNCC

Specimens received 3/26/68

Q1 One-page typewritten letter dated 3/4/68, signed
"Ralph Featherstone"

Kcl Photocopy of Georgia Operator's License #047406 bearing
known signature STANLEY LE ROY WISE

Result of examination:

It was determined that the Wise signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by STANLEY LE ROY WISE, FBI#120891F, whose known writings consist of specimen Kcl and signatures on fingerprint cards in his identification record.

It was determined that the Featherstone signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, FBI#320923G, whose known writing consists of a signature on a fingerprint card in his identification record.

Specimens Q1 and Kcl are returned herewith. Photographs have been retained.

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V. CHARACTER OF SNCC

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

[redacted] advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

[redacted] advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

VI. TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES BY SNCC MEMBERS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Articles appearing in the public press and other news media reflect that between the period of June, 1967, and December, 1967, CARMICHAEL visited numerous European countries. In June, 1967, he participated in the meeting of the Latin American Solidarity Organization Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Other articles appearing in the public press indicate that during his absence, he also visited Hanoi, North Viet Nam.

JOHN PEARL TILLMAN

During June and July of 1967, it was determined that invitations had been sent to youth organizations in the United States to send representatives to the International Youth Meeting in Leningrad, USSR. TILLMAN was one of the two representatives of SNCC selected to attend this meeting.

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE

WARE has been identified as being in Cuba with STOKELY CARMICHAEL during late July and early August of 1967.

STANLEY LEROY WISE

On November 17, 1967, WISE was a guest speaker at a Black Power meeting held on November 16, 1967, in Chicago, Illinois. During his speech WISE related his experiences of his travel to North Viet Nam.

WILLIE FLOYD RICKS

RICKS is a Field Secretary for SNCC. It has been reported that on the evening of January 10, 1968,

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~~SECRET~~

the Associated Press Bureau in Miami, Florida, advised that Havana Radio identified RICKS as being in Havana, Cuba.



RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE

This individual was identified through the same media above as having been in and traveled to Havana, Cuba.

JENNIFER KAREN LAWSON

This individual has also been identified through the aforementioned sources as having traveled to and been in Havana, Cuba.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-6488

Atlanta, Georgia
June 24, 1968

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated
and captioned as above, at Atlanta,
Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.